



Colorado Liberty

Tenth Anniversary Convention Denver, August 26-30, 1981

Keynote Panel To Probe Party's Future

The decisions made at LP/10 will greatly influence the future course of the Libertarian Party; in many ways, this year's convention will be the most crucial in the party's ten-year history.

In recognition of this fact, the convention's organizers have scheduled a Keynote Panel which will address some of the major issues facing the LP. Its deliberations will take place in the main convention hall immediately following opening remarks by National Chairman David Bergland, who will serve as the panel's moderator.

Each of the panel's four participants is a long-term activist with a history of major contributions to the cause of liberty; between them, they bring some 60 man-years of experience to this colloquium. The four scheduled participants are:

Roy Childs, a leading libertarian theoretician and currently editor of *Libertarian Review*. Childs' late-1960's "Open Letter to Ayn Rand" is regarded by some libertarians as one of the key documents of its era, and Childs has been an outspoken — even controversial — spokesman within the movement ever since.

Don Ernsberger, who has also been



LP/10

Here To Stay

Sign Up Now for LP/10 Events

Don't miss the opportunity of a lifetime to participate in a historic libertarian gathering! Every "name" libertarian in the movement will be in Denver for our Tenth

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27
An Evening in Central City with Karl Hess
and Robert Anton Wilson (\$20)

Armed Forces May Be Used In "War On Drugs"

by Patrick L. Lilly

If you ever had the feeling that the government had declared unabashed war on you, the following will come as no surprise, though it may still shock you. If you've managed to avoid that feeling, you may have a rude (if necessary) awakening.

Similar bills are now in the U.S. House and Senate, described by Newhouse Service (4 June, '81) as "quietly slipping through", that would amend the 19th-century Posse Comitatus Act, allowing the U.S. military to be directly involved in attack operations against drug owners, dealers and importers, under the command of federal civilian anti-drug agents. The term unabashedly being used by the news media and spokespersons for the government is "war". The Armed Services of both houses of Congress have *already* approved amendments which would, in a radical shift of established custom and policy, turn the military loose on U.S. (and other) citizens to enforce drug prohibition.

The Senate bill is couched in more guarded language but the House version expressly authorizes the use of military hardware and personnel to make seizures

— even controversial — spokesman within the movement ever since.

Don Ernsberger, who has also been active in the libertarian movement since the 1960's, and was a co-founder (with David Walter) of the Society for Individual Liberty in 1969. In the past, Don has sometimes been critical of political activity as a means of advancing liberty, expressing concern that it inevitably leads to compromises on principle.

Dave Nolan, who first became politically active during the Goldwater campaign, and is generally regarded as the principal founder of the Libertarian Party. The first
Continued on page 2

Don't miss the opportunity of a lifetime to participate in a historic libertarian gathering! Every "name" libertarian in the movement will be in Denver for our Tenth Anniversary Convention; this is your chance to see, hear, meet and talk to people you've heard about for years!

Can't make the daytime sessions? Have we got a deal for you! A special "Colorado Commuter Package" that gets you into all the evening events, for only \$85. This includes all of the following items; most are available separately, at the price indicated.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26
An Evening With Murray Rothbard (\$10)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27
An Evening in Central City, with Karl Hess and Robert Anton Wilson (\$20)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28
Speech by Joseph Sugarman (\$8)
Reception for Past Presidential Candidates (\$15)

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29
Tenth Anniversary Banquet (\$50)

All events except the excursion to Central City will be at the Denver Hilton. For more information, or to make reservations, call 595-0222.

Westward Population Shift Bodes Well for LP Future

by Chris Hocker

The 1980 census was most useful for bureaucrats, welfare recipients, and political observers. Leaving aside the first two of these categories (and the symbiotic relationship between them), political observers have had a field day noting that the results of the census will mean a significant shift of political power in the coming years from the North and East to the South and West.

The relevant statistics are as follows: Total U.S. population went up by 12.3 percent, to 226,500,000. Only three states actually lost population — New York, Rhode Island, and the District of Columbia — but the percentage gain in every northern and eastern state except Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine was well below the national average, while the percentage gain of every southern and western state except Alabama was above the national average — and Alabama, at 12.2 percent, was only one tenth of a point below average.

Eleven southern and western states took a total of 17 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives from ten northern and eastern states. The big winners were Florida (4), Texas (3), and California (2), with Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Oregon, Tennessee, Utah, and Washington picking up one seat each. The biggest loser was New York (5), followed by Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania at two each, and Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, and South Dakota each dropping one.

The top ten states in terms of percentage gain in population were, with the exception of Florida and Texas, far western states with relatively low starting populations: Nevada (63.8), Arizona (52.9), Florida (41.1), Wyoming (41.1), Utah (37.3), Alaska (32.3), Colorado (30.2), New Mexico (26.9), and Texas (26.4). Hawaii and Oregon were eleventh and twelfth.

All of these statistics suggest some reasonably encouraging trends for libertarians, economically, socially, and politically. The top ten growth states are all popularly perceived as places of "opportunity," almost frontier-like places, where regulation is minimal, entrepreneurial ability is valued, entrenched urban political machines are absent (along with urban decay), and the deer and the antelope play. Many of the people migrating to these states do so to get jobs — and many others do so to create jobs, to build something new and unique for themselves whether or not it involves getting rich.

The people who pack up and head west — and "west" as a state of mind could be Florida or Maine as easily as Alaska or Nevada — leave behind more than just their jobs, their families, their friends, the double sets of deadbolts on their doors, and four levels of income taxation. Many of them also abandon some or all of their former lifestyle, religion, and political behavior. Now that they're in Roswell, they don't have to be Presbyterians or Democrats if they don't want to.

The political implications of the population shift are best looked at long-term. For the 1980s, the change in the makeup of Congress will be significant but not earth-shattering — and it certainly won't mean a tidal wave of conservative Republican representatives as some observers have suggested. Congressional district reapportionment is determined by the legislature in each state, and seven of the eleven states which will gain House seats have Democratic-controlled legislatures.

(Interestingly enough, five of the ten legislatures in the states which will lose House seats are controlled by Republicans, which should drive one more nail

Continued on page 7

Colorado Libertarian Party
PO Box 1557
Denver, CO 80201

**ADDRESS CORRECTION
REQUESTED.
RETURN POSTAGE
GUARANTEED.**

NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
DENVER, CO
PERMIT NO. 675

guarded language but the House version expressly authorizes the use of military hardware and personnel to make seizures of drugs and captures of their owners.

It's hard to overrepresent the ominous significance of the precedent which this legislation, if passed, would establish. It would move the U.S. sharply in the direction of almost all the other nations of the world, which do not even pretend that their military forces are not there to keep their own populations under control.

And make no mistake. Such a legislated change would not likely be successfully overturned on constitutional grounds. The traditional American relationship between the military and civilian law enforcement of all kinds has been just that — a tradition. Its existence has always been a result of laws which the Congress is not directly obliged by the Constitution to keep on the books. They've been kept on the books until now, but both the Justice (sic) Department and the Pentagon are agitating for a fundamental change.

In another vein, it should be obvious that executive branch lobbying for legislation such as this is an open admission that prohibition is a monumental failure. Official analysis and pronouncements from within the government are already restating essentially what the editors of *Consumer Reports* first concluded in print nearly a decade ago: that consumption of illegal recreational drugs in this country is already a permanent feature of this

Continued on page 4

From The Chair

by Ruth E. Bennett

For all of you who have not been reading your Libertarian literature in recent months, there will be a National Libertarian Party Convention in Denver, August 26-30.

This is an opportunity you should not pass up. Not in many more years will there be a Convention that will be as accessible or inexpensive to attend. The next Convention will be in New York. This is your opportunity—don't waste it.

There are events and packages to fit into everyone's budget. There will be opportunities to meet, talk and party with the movers and shakers of the libertarian movement. Whether you're looking for an educational experience or just an opportunity to have a good time, LP/10 will be the best and only opportunity in many years to mingle with Libertarians from around North America.

This Convention also offers all CLP members to show off The Libertarian Party to their friends. There will be programs to appeal to everyone so be sure to bring your friends and business associates to speeches, panels and workshops.

Colorado will also have a chance to make an positive impression on the rest of the national libertarian community. Let's show how hospitable Coloradans can be by making Convention attendees feel welcome as our guests.

The CLP will have a Hospitality Suite at LP/10. The room will be available for all CLP members to leave belongings, freshen up, caucus or whatever. Just check with Len Jackson or Ruth Bennett at the Convention to find the room number.

I look forward to a large number of Coloradans participating in LP/10. We are the hosts and this is *our* Convention. See you there!

Join Local Boards!

by Phil Prosser

Libertarians! Join those local and state boards. No greater opportunity exists to get the Libertarian message out among the most politically active and effective members of the community. Yet these institutions have been largely ignored by Libertarians for years.

Boards and commissions exist to control energy use, land use, barber shops, and every last detail of our lives. Libertarians can influence these boards and help to lessen their impact. With a little luck and patience we may even get them to dissolve. Most of these organizations hold public hearings from time to time where Libertarians can turn out in mass to support our positions. By just such methods do leftists inflate their influence

far beyond any level of public support that they may enjoy.

So far we have a Libertarian on the Park County Citizens Advisory group to update the Park County Master Plan. Two other Libertarians have applied for positions on their local draft boards. The possibility of a Libertarian draft board raises possibilities that boggle the imagination.

Anyone interested in joining local boards or commissions should contact Linda Kaiser c/o CLP, 1041 Cherokee, Denver, CO 80201. Linda has experience at this sort of thing that she is eager to share.

So let's get out there and join; the time for change is now!

FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY

WE'RE DOING SOMETHING NOW



Colorado Libertarian Calendar



1st and 3rd Wednesday every month: Discussion group, 7:30 p.m., Party office, 1041 Cherokee, Denver, 573-5229.

2nd Wednesday every month: CLP Cocktail Party, 7:30 p.m., Party office, 1041 Cherokee, Denver. Relaxed, informal. Cash bar.

4th Wednesday every month: CLP Board Meeting, 7:30 p.m., Party office, 1041 Cherokee, Denver.

1st Wednesday every month: Boulder County Libertarian Association meeting, 7:30 p.m., Capitol Federal Savings Building, 1913 Broadway, Boulder.

Aug. 12 Colorado Libertarian Party Cocktail Party, 7:30 p.m., no-host, 1041 Cherokee, Denver.

Aug. 19 Discussion Group — From Here to There: Implementing Liberty. 7:30 p.m. at Headquarters.

Aug. 26-30 LP/10-Here to Stay — the Tenth Anniversary Convention of the Libertarian Party. Denver Hilton. Call 595-0222 for more details.

Sept. 2 Discussion Group — Foreign Policy and National Defense. 7:30 at Headquarters.

Sept. 9 CLP Cocktail Party — Come talk over all the good times everyone had at LP/10! 7:30 at Headquarters.

Sept. 16 Discussion Group — Justice without Compulsion. 7:30 at 1041 Cherokee Headquarters.

Oct. 7 Discussion group — Gradualism vs. Radicalism. 7:30 p.m. at Headquarters.

Oct. 14 CLP Cocktail Party — Everyone bring a newcomer! 7:30 p.m. at Headquarters.

Oct. 21 Discussion Group — The Problems with Freedom, Headquarters office at 7:30 p.m.

If you would like to have meetings of your county or local Libertarian organization listed or if you know of any happenings which might be of general interest to Libertarians please write to *Colorado Liberty*, c/o Colorado Libertarian Party, 1041 Cherokee, Denver, CO 80204.

Solving the Energy Crisis

by Barry W. Poulson

Americans have come to accept the idea that we are in the middle of an energy crisis created by the OPEC countries. Yet, recent studies show that we are sitting on vast quantities of untapped energy resources in this country. The question is why are we faced with shortages and higher prices for energy if we have such vast quantities of untapped energy resources. I suggest that this problem can be explained not by OPEC policies, but rather by our own domestic policies.

At the state and regional level, we find major constraints on energy development, particularly in the policies pursued by western states.

for a profit; a company that responded in innovative ways to the problem of environmental protection, government regulations that provided incentives for the company to allocate resources to the protection of the environment at reasonable costs, and reasonable tax policies that provided revenues for the local community to cope with some of the effects of energy development on the community.

We cannot afford the waste of resources that has accompanied exploration and development of energy in areas such as Boulder County. The Colorado-Wyoming coal project in Craig demonstrates that efficient development of energy resources is

FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY WE'RE DOING SOMETHING NOW TO HELP YOU REGAIN SOME OF YOURS

Our members reduce their income tax by 70% — but this is only our drawing card — there are much greater rewards involved.

We are The Universal Life Church.

Set your preconceptions aside for a minute and let us appeal to your rational self-interest.

- The ULC is **not** a traditional church but a church based on self-responsibility and personal freedom.
- The only tenet of the ULC is to **"do that which is right"** — with you determining what is right for you and your congregation.
- We've been around for over 20 years.
- The ULC has **federal tax exemption** obtained 7 years ago by federal ruling resulting from a California District Court decision.
- Those in the ULC gain all the **amazing tax benefits** granted to members of religious groups by the Internal Revenue Code.
- There are now over **10.5 million ULC ministers** world wide.
- About **60,000 local chartered congregations** now exist and 300 new ones begin each week — these congregations are tax exempt.
- **No** properly organized congregation has **ever** been successfully challenged.

We're growing at a phenomenal rate. Find out why!

Call for our next public meeting time or for more information.

ULC Denver
P.O. Box 12471
Denver, Colorado 80212
455-9023

ULC Headquarters
601 Third Street
Modesto, California 95351

At the state and regional level, we find major constraints on energy development, particularly in the policies pursued by western states.

A report to the American Institute of Professional Geologists states that mining and energy companies in Colorado are prevented from exploring and developing properties because regulators take actions which are contrary to the spirit and interest of environmental and mining laws.

Militant public groups and environmental organizations conspire with government agencies to make unreasonable and illegal demands on extractive industries. They demand numerous government permits, environmental impact statements, and engage the companies in lengthy court suits in order to delay exploration and development of mineral resources. In some cases, companies find their equipment and property sabotaged. These tactics make the costs of many energy projects prohibitive. Boulder County and other counties on the eastern slope of Colorado have experienced no significant energy development in recent years despite the fact that these counties were historically major sources of coal and petroleum resources.

It is impossible to explore and develop energy resources without some impact upon the environment and upon local and regional economies of the west. Energy development must be reconciled with the desire to protect the environment and to satisfy the interests of local residents. Some areas in Colorado have developed successful energy projects that satisfy these goals.

One of the best examples is the Colorado-Wyoming coal project near Craig, Colorado. The company designed a method for extracting coal using open pit methods that replaced most of the soil to its original contours. They experimented with a variety of reforestation techniques involving replacement of the topsoil and planting of grasses consistent with the surrounding vegetation. Tax revenues generated by the company were used to support the improvement of roads, schools, and other public projects in the Craig areas. The wages and salaries paid by the company gave a boost to the local economy.

The success of the Colorado-Wyoming coal project was based upon several ingredients: an efficient energy company capable of developing energy resources

development of energy in areas such as Boulder County. The Colorado-Wyoming coal project in Craig demonstrates that efficient development of energy resources is not incompatible with environmental protection and responsiveness to the needs of the local community. However, that requires a spirit of cooperation rather than confrontation between energy companies, local residents, and government agencies. Other regions in the west must follow this example if we are to balance efficient utilization of our scarce energy resources with other social and economic goals.

Barry W. Poulson is a Professor of Economics at the University of Colorado. This article was prepared for distribution by the Economic Institute for Research and Education, P.O. Box 611, Boulder, Colorado 80306.

Keynote Panel

Cont. from page 1

meetings of the fledgeling party were held in Dave's living room ten years ago, and he is the only individual who has been involved continuously in the party's affairs since its beginnings.

Rounding out the panel is another veteran — **Bob Poole**, president of the Reason Foundation and editor of *Reason* magazine. Bob is widely respected throughout the movement for his professionalism, his fair-mindedness, and his firm grasp on real-world political realities.

The panel is expected to explore a variety of topics, drawing on the lessons of the party's first decade to suggest appropriate policies and strategies for the future. According to convention organizer Paul Grant, the panelists have been asked to keep the tone of their remarks "candid, but not accusatory; the idea is to learn from our experience — both the successes and the failures — and not to air personal hostilities."

Continued on page 5

**MONTESSORI CHILD
DISCOVERY CENTER
(Ages 3-6)**

**Garrison and Jewell
in Lakewood
973-8578**

REGISTER NOW!

Libertarian Strategy For The 80's

Two Views

"Marketing is the key."

by Patrick L. Lilly

In 1980, the Libertarian Party, led by Ed Clark, accomplished its basic goal of becoming a permanent, recognized part of the American political scene. The Party is no longer a tiny, obscure group whose ideas are unknown and which could be lumped together with the Socialist Workers' Party, the American Independents, and other "third" parties. The LP is now the third party, not only by its own reckoning, but in the perceptions of the news media, the politicians, and the public at large.

With this new status comes a new and larger set of responsibilities. With it, too, should come a serious reassessment of the Party's role in the political process, a reassessment of political strategy based on a hard-nosed analysis of the political realities of the 1980's. Those realities are not always of the common-sensical variety, and if the LP is to continue to grow in the new decade as it did in the last one, then those who chart its course must properly understand the historical principles and social dynamics which govern the emergence of a new party in this country.

To begin with, one should realize that a new political party must go through two more-or-less distinct stages on the road from its birth to the status of a *major* political party. If no better terms suggest themselves, these may be called the "organizational" and the "marketing" stages.

In the organizational stage, the main challenges faced by a new party are procedural, nuts-and-bolts kind of things. They are institutional barriers that have to do with getting started from nothing and with simply letting the populace know that the new organization exists. Such barriers and challenges face *all* new organizations, and they have little to do with the philosophy espoused.

those dire prophecies of "corruption" that anti-political libertarians have howled from the beginning will have their greatest chance of springing from the wings to ensnare us. Secondly, adaptation must be made to the party's transformation into a true *mass* movement and, thus, a political home for millions of voters — and even workers — who are not hard-core philosophical libertarians, and who, even in the long run, may not ever come to be so.

In the next decade, it will be increasingly necessary for Libertarians — both those who are its candidates and those who develop its programs without occupying the news media limelight — to learn the skills of marketing, to acquire the tools of this trade, and to be astute and accurate about it. They will need to learn so well the social dynamics of marketing ideas in this society that they will be unquestionably *better* at it than their counterparts in the other parties. They will have to virtually reek of astuteness and cogency, and precisely because of the straight-and-narrow principles which they seek to support with their activities; as columnist James Kilpatrick once wrote "a candidate with principles runs with extra baggage in his saddle bags."

The only way to overcome the drag of that baggage, in the long run, is to be smarter and better prepared than the opposition. We must get facts and figures right the first time, every time, to show the skeptical, largely uneducated voting and commenting public that the Libertarian analysis of current events is more level-headed and demonstrably more workable than that of competing political ideologies.

Research into issues, so that their history as well as their general philosophical implications can be succinctly addressed, will become a critical element — frequently the make-or-break

"First, we must be accepted as friends."

by Paul Bilzi

Since the completion of the 1980 Presidential campaign, much attention has been focused on the topic of libertarian political strategy. In the May issue of *Update*, Milton Mueller gives his ideas of what does not constitute strategy. In particular, he correctly identifies "Holding High the Banner of Pure Principle" as a foundation or anchor for the Libertarian Party, but not in itself a strategy. He goes on to explain how a plan of action is bound by the need to allocate scarce money and personnel, and also how it is not necessary at all times to discuss all facets of libertarian philosophy, providing no deception is involved. This analysis is fine as far as it goes, but ends where it started: "What should libertarian political strategy be?"

It should be obvious that the Clark campaign — run from the top with an emphasis on television ads and national media exposure — was not the answer, at least in terms of votes received. Even as a vehicle to expose the public to libertarian ideas, it seems that the results achieved nowhere approached the effort expended. This criticism is not levelled solely at the Clark effort, but at much of what the LP has done throughout its history. In my opinion, libertarianism cannot be brought to the public from the top down.

I am pleased to see much attention recently being paid to the idea of grassroots organizing. This to me seems like a much more productive way of utilizing resources and talents. However, before we assume the word grassroots to be the panacea for all our ills, perhaps we should ask what a grassroots organization should do. If it merely mimics National or state parties by holding meetings, issuing press releases, sponsoring speakers, etc., then I submit that it is doomed to failure.

For the past fifteen years or so, I have had an uneasy feeling about the strategies

more important, I doubt that most "ordinary" people listen to the intellectuals anyway. While most people do watch TV news or read national news magazines, it does not necessarily follow that they are significantly influenced by these sources.

By and large, the American public has a healthy disrespect for authority figures, including so-called opinion-makers. Personal philosophies are not built from the words of others, but rather from the situation in which one finds himself. An example is the saying that "people vote with their pocketbooks". Similarly, other parts of personal philosophies arise from analysis of issues which directly affect the individual, his family, and his community. On issues not directly impacting him, the average American either has no opinion, or holds some vague notion based on what he thinks is right and just.

All of this first solidified in my mind while working in rural West Virginia in 1975. Looking somewhat like a '60's long-haired hippie, I was a bit apprehensive as to what type of reception I would get dealing on a daily basis with the local people. To my pleasant surprise, my appearance had no apparent consequence whatsoever. What *did* matter was my ability to relate to the people on a one-to-one, give-and-take basis.

I found that the more "common" a person is, the more receptive he is to libertarian ideas. That is, despite what the national media portrays, there still is a large number of people out there who build their lives around hard work, minding their own business, helping others, and generally distrusting the government. They are not influential or usually even highly educated, but their gut feelings are in the right place.

If you are with me this far, then you are probably asking how, as a libertarian, do I

with simply letting the populace know that the new organization exists. Such barriers and challenges face all new organizations, and they have little to do with the philosophy espoused.

Virtually all of the third party failure syndromes catalogued by Dave Nolan nearly ten years ago come from inability to overcome problems of this type. The small political parties that have been born, only to die or stagnate, in twentieth-century America have failed because they could not fully overcome one or more of these organizational stage difficulties. They could never quite establish themselves as self-sustaining political organizations. They apparently all lacked the procedural political astuteness which Libertarians have now shown that we do have.

And that leads to the second stage of development, the marketing stage, wherein the now-established — but still small — party must begin, in earnest, *marketing* its ideas to a mass audience. Having fought successfully for the right to play the game with the big boys, having transcended most of the institutionalized disadvantages which prevent voters from seriously considering their ideas alongside those of the established competitors, the new party must now adjust to a new set of priorities which focus, not on institutional barriers, but increasingly on mass-marketing its ideas and proposals in a competitive environment.

This is not to say that all the institutional barriers have been completely dissipated. To be sure, for several years to come, Libertarians will have to devote some part of their energies and resources to fighting off rear-guard attacks on their ballot status and other lingering forms of legal discrimination. But as of 1980, that part can be expected to steadily diminish. The nuts-and-bolts problems are through being the *primary* obstacle to the LP's growth. The attacks will become progressively easier to fend off, and it will be increasingly clear to the public that they are indeed desperate, rear-guard fits of pique by the established parties, if Libertarians play their other cards right.

The strategy for playing the other cards right will involve two basic things, and the art of doing it well revolves around the fact that those two things tend to look as if they are at least partially inconsistent, at odds with each other. First, strict adherence to principles, which must be neither under- or over-defined, will be no less important than ever. *This* is the historical stage when

research into issues, so that their history as well as their general philosophical implications can be succinctly addressed, will become a critical element — frequently the make-or-break factor — in Libertarian campaigns in the next few years. Libertarian candidates will no longer be able to distinguish themselves from their opponents merely as merely men and women whose moral principles are beyond reproach. It now also becomes vitally important to convince the public that they are people whose feet are squarely planted on the ground, whose ability to address the very mundane concerns of day-in and day-out politics is also above any question. The operant criterion is *competence*.

During the 80's, Libertarians will find it necessary to shed completely any lingering image as "pie-in-the-sky" dreamers, nice but unrealistic thinkers. And, as California LP Congressional candidate James McClarin has suggested, there is a time "window" for accomplishing this. 1990 will be far too late for Libertarians to suddenly begin impressing the public as knowledgeable and competent. The job must be done and over with long before there is a sizeable Libertarian contingent in the Congress or any of the state legislatures, or there will never be such a contingent.

Any faltering in this regard will produce a faltering in the LP's quantitative growth and the expansion of its influence. And the lesson of American history is terribly clear that no new party can afford ever to stop growing before it is finally and permanently established. Even a momentary loss of momentum can easily be fatal.

Libertarians will have to learn, too, how to become effective, ward-heeling political operatives against a less than ideally congenial background, and without ever compromising their principles. Taking advantage of trends in public opinion without misrepresenting positions, watering down proposals, or making unkeepable promises is one of the demanding fence-walking skills which few Libertarians have yet developed, but which many more will have to very soon, if the party's growth is to continue.

Make no mistake — the Libertarians have done all of these difficult things up to now as well as they needed to — better, in fact, than most people would have expected them to back in 1972. But even though defending unpopular proposals

holding meetings, issuing press releases, sponsoring speakers, etc., then I submit that it is doomed to failure.

For the past fifteen years or so, I have had an uneasy feeling about the strategies used or suggested by various libertarian groups. Back in the 1960's, when the modern-era libertarians began forming groups on college campuses, the strategy adopted was education. Basically, the plan went something like this: "We should concentrate on educating intellectuals, decision-makers, opinion-formers, and other similarly influential people. When they are convinced of the correctness of libertarianism, they will spread the word to the masses, who look to them for philosophical guidance." Since then, it seems like every libertarian organization, including the Libertarian Party, has adopted the education idea. In the May-June issue of *Libertarian News*, David Bergland again reiterates the idea: "I believe our strategy must be to change the thinking of substantial numbers of influential people . . ."

I now think it is time to completely reject the education-from-above theory, along with its spinoff, the from-the-top political strategy. For starters, these are terribly arrogant, elitist strategies. Like religious missionaries, haven't all of us at one time or another found ourselves seeking "converts" to libertarianism, feeling that we are bringing the "truth" to the ignorant masses? This is certainly no way to win friends and influence people. Besides being offensive, it is also ineffectual. What have we gained in ten years of courting intellectuals and influential people? Partial endorsements from Eugene McCarthy and Nicholas von Hoffman hardly justify the effort.

It seems to me that the trickle-down education/political strategy cannot work for two reasons. First of all, we will never reach the majority of opinion-makers and intellectuals because they already have their minds made up with regard to political philosophy. Second, and even

may seem like a horrendous task to the political newcomer, it has not up until now been the main problem faced by the fledgling party. Thus far, the *main* problems have been those procedural and institutional ones mentioned earlier. But in the 1980's, that relationship will be sharply reversed. From now on, Libertarians must meet the challenge of marketing their

government. They are not influential or usually even highly educated, but their gut feelings are in the right place.

If you are with me this far, then you are probably asking how, as a libertarian, do I deal with such people? Simple — the same way they deal with each other — as family and friends, neighbors and community members. As with any communication, you have to get the other person's attention. Translated to a grassroots political strategy, you have to first be accepted as a friend. Only then can you have a meeting of minds on serious subjects. Starting with concerns you have in common, it is then fairly easy to move into areas where the other person's philosophy is not firmly formed. Finally, given time, you will likely even change some long held opinions. However, this will only work if it is handled as the give-and-take of friends, not the oppressive rigor of missionary preaching to student.

This, then, is my strategy suggestion for the Libertarian Party. Chuck the entire top-down plan and replace it with a true grassroots approach, starting with each *individual* root. Will it work? Well, in fifteen years of quiet activism, I suppose I have moved people in a significant manner toward libertarian philosophy at a rate of perhaps two per month, for a total of 300-400. Hardly a bonanza, but consider if every libertarian in the U.S. did the same. The aggregate total would certainly exceed progress to date by present strategies.

Besides being effective, this strategy is also intellectually stimulating. You have to remove yourself from the anonymity of a paid TV ad, a press release, or a letter to the editor. In doing so, you are vulnerable at first, but you soon learn to relax. And therein lies the real personal reward. For in all strategies I have ever seen tried, there is nothing that can beat the sheer joy and understanding that evolves from a give-and-take between two people with open minds.

ideas in a way that is not only philosophically, but also technically, correct.

If we can do that, we will succeed where every other new political party in this century has failed. We will continue to build on our initial organizational base, and go on to alter the whole philosophical complexion of the American political system and government.

Mystery Essay

**Your chance to win an LP/10
one ounce silver commemorative.**

Who wrote the following essay? If you can tell us, you have a good chance of winning an LP/10 one ounce silver commemorative.

Here's how it works.

Read the essay, and then fill out the contest entry form on page five (Xerox copies acceptable). Send the form to **Colorado Liberty** no later than September 15, 1981. All entries correctly identifying

the author will be entered in a drawing for the silver coin. (If only one person knows — or guesses — he or she wins the coin automatically. If nobody submits the correct answer, the winner will be drawn from all entries.)

The correct answer, and the contest winner, will be announced in a later issue. To learn the results, subscribe to **Colorado Liberty!**

On the basis of all known past human experience, are there any general conclusions with regard to societal organization which can be postulated with confidence? It seems to me that there certainly are.

1.

First, government is necessary — some degree of government — in any civilized society. There are believers in the possibility and desirability of a governmentless anarchy as a practicable form of human association. But the number of these advocates is comparatively very small, there is no evidence within human historical experience to support their thesis, and there is considerable evidence indicating otherwise.

2.

Second, while government is necessary, it is basically a non-productive expense, an overhead cost supported by the productive economy. And like all overhead items, it always has a tendency to expand faster than the productive base which supports it.

3.

Third, government is frequently evil. And we do not mean by this that they (governments) are merely dishonest. For all governments, with very rare exceptions indeed, are thoroughly dishonest. We made the statement in print, a few months ago, that there has never in the history of the world been a government (and this generalization includes our present one)

the limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it. But Wilson could have boasted, as did Charles II of England, that he said only wise things even though he did only foolish ones. It is self-evident that government, by its very nature, *must* be an enemy of freedom, edging always towards a restriction of the individual's rights and responsibilities.

5.

Whatever must be done by governments will always cost more than if it could be done by individuals or smaller groups. And the larger the government, the more disproportionate will be the cost. Letting a government do anything, therefore, which such individuals or smaller groups could properly do, is serious economic wastefulness. It is also contrary to the philosophy of the proper function of government that is derived from the whole body of past experiments.

6.

Government, by its size, its momentum, and its authority, will not only perpetuate errors of doctrine or of policy longer than they would otherwise retain acceptance, but it will multiply their effect on a geometric scale, as against the arithmetically cumulative effect of those errors if confined to individuals or smaller groups. The errors of tens of thousands of individuals, all thinking and probing in different directions and moved by different impulses, tend to cancel themselves out or to be softened by the attrition of doubt and

specialized division of labor and the beneficial interchange of the various products of human effort, or can ever appraise the impact of changing circumstances and changing desires on the infinite ramifications of interrelated human activity, one half as well as the planning, appraisal, and resulting corrections will be accomplished by a completely free market if given the opportunity. For the free market automatically weighs, measures, and integrates into its decisions increments of need, of difficulty, and of motivation that are too small, too numerous, and too hidden for the planners ever to discover them. And the equations to be dealt with are too infinite to be resolved by any human brain or committee of human brains, even if all the variables and constants could be accurately set forth in such equations.

A government trying to step in and improve the workings of a free market is exactly like a man who takes a lantern outdoors at noon of a bright June day to show you the sun. But a government's answer to any criticism as to the inadequacy of the lantern is always to bring more lanterns and then more lanterns — until eventually the smoke and glare of the lanterns so seriously interfere with and shut off the light of the sun that everybody actually has to work mainly by lantern light.

It is interesting to note, too, that in any society the government, and its allies who want to use the lanterns, always claim the justification that the society's economy is more complex than those which have preceded it. They insist that therefore the lanterns of planning and control are necessary and helpful now, no matter how futile and harmful they have been shown to be in the past. Of course exactly the opposite is true. The more complex the economic life of a nation becomes; the more nearly infinite the shades and grades of impulse which determine the proper interchanges and relationships between its components become; then the more impossible and ridiculous is any undertaking to plan and control those relationships, and the more the automatic working of a completely free market is needed.

8.

As a government increases in power, and as a means of increasing its power, it

too far into the daily lives and doings of its subjects, was far better for the Roman Empire in the long run than the intentionally benevolent government of Diocletian or of Constantine, whose bureaucratic agents were everywhere. Let's dramatize this fact — or opinion — by bringing it closer home. And your speaker would like to have it understood that he does not condone dishonesty in the slightest degree. Yet I had rather have for America, and I am convinced America would be better off with, a government of three hundred thousand officials and agents, every single one of them a thief, than a government of three million agents with every single one of them an honest, honorable, public servant. For the first group would only steal from the American economic and political system; the second group would be bound in time to destroy it. *The increasing quantity of government, in all nations, has constituted the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century.*

Let's spotlight just one particular result of this tragic development which has occurred in connection with man's age-old worry — war. That result is the frequency, the length, the extensiveness, the horrible destructiveness, and the totality of impact on the population, of the wars of the twentieth century. In the physical sciences we are accustomed to using combined measurements, such as foot-pounds, kilowatt-hours or man-days. Let's invent such a phrase for the measurement of war, and call it the day-number-horror unit. In the use of that three-way calculation we multiply the days of suffering by the number of people who suffer by the depth of the suffering, to arrive at an appraisal. Then I believe you will find that pretty generally throughout history — despite other factors causing occasional exceptions — and very definitely throughout recent centuries, the day-number-horror measure of any war has been proportional to the contemporary extensiveness of government. In fact and specifically, it has been directly proportional to the *product* of the *quantities* of government in the nations involved at the time a war was fought.

Also, you will find that it is the huge quantity of government which, more than anything else, makes these tremendously destructive wars not only possible, but unavoidable. One illustration should

made the statement in print, a few months ago, that there has never in the history of the world been a government (and this generalization includes our present one) that maintained honesty in the handling of a "managed" irredeemable currency. A few weeks later one of America's ablest and best-known economists quoted that statement with full approval.

But what we are talking about here is something far worse than dishonesty. This past December Professor Sorokin of Harvard — after quoting Lord Acton that great men, in the political arena, are almost always bad men — went on to reveal the results of his own survey of the criminality of rulers. This survey of the monarchs of various countries and the heads of various republics and democracies, in a selection large enough to constitute a very fair sample, revealed that there was an average of one murderer to every four of these rulers. "In other words," says Professor Sorokin, "the rulers of the states are the most criminal group in a respective population. With a limitation of their power their criminality tends to decrease; but it still remains exceptionally high in all nations."

An obvious reason for this is the greater temptation to criminality on the part of those who control or influence the police power of a nation, of which they would otherwise stand in more fear. Another is that ambitious men with criminal tendencies naturally gravitate into government because of this very prospect of doing, or helping to do, the policing over themselves. A third reason is that so many apologists can always be found, for criminal acts of governments, on the grounds that such acts ultimately contribute to the public good and that therefore the criminal means are justified by the righteous ends. Kautilya wrote his *Arthashastra* in about 300 B.C. Machiavelli wrote his *Il Principe* in about 1500 A.D. And the arguments of both, that it is a virtue of a ruler to be unscrupulous for the good of his state, are heard in every age.

4.

Fourth, government is always and inevitably an enemy of individual freedom. It seems rather strange that it was Woodrow Wilson, who more than any other one man started this nation on its present road towards totalitarianism, who also said that the history of human liberty is a history of

different directions and moved by different impulses, tend to cancel themselves out or to be softened by the attrition of doubt and disagreement. But let any one error become sanctified by government, and thus crystallized as truth, and little short of a revolution can discredit it or cause it to be discarded.

An easy illustration of this principle is the witchcraft terror in the early days of the colonial government of Massachusetts. If there had been no governmental power to give phantasmagoria the semblance of reality by official decree, the common sense of a majority of the citizens would have kept this manifestation of fanaticism from ever having such widespread support and cruel results. But once government had authoritatively said, "This is truth," then the hitherto doubting citizen was willing to join others like himself in accepting it as truth. And we have at least a dozen idiocies, equally repugnant to man's common sense and sound experience, being perpetuated by our government in Washington today. But it would take as long a book to convince most people of the absurdity and harmfulness of any one of them as it would have taken to convince the citizens of Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, of the nonsense of their belief in witchcraft, once government had guaranteed the wisdom of that belief.

7.

As any society becomes reasonably settled, and shakes down into a semi-permanent pattern of economic and political life, and as some degree of leisure on the part of its citizens becomes both possible and visible, the drive always begins to have government become the management of the social enterprise rather than merely its agent for certain clear purposes. Government is then increasingly allowed, invited, and even urged to do planning for, and exercise control over, the total economy of the nation. Next, it is pushed, and pushes itself, more and more into planning and control of the separate activities of the citizens and groups of citizens that make up the economic life of the nation. And in doing such planning and exercising such controls the government must assume more and more of the responsibility for the success of the economy and the welfare of its citizens.

Of course no government, short of being omniscient, can ever plan the

8.

As a government increases in power, and as a means of increasing its power, it always has a tendency to squeeze out the middle class; to destroy or weaken the middle for the benefit of the top and the bottom. Even where there is no conscious alliance for this purpose, such as formed the basis for Bismarck's beginning of the socialization of Germany or Franklin Roosevelt's beginning of the socialization of America, the forces to that end are always at work — as they have been in England for fifty years. In the nations that the gods would destroy, they first make the middle class helpless through insidious but irresistible government pressures.

9.

The form of government is not nearly so important as its quality. Justice and a lack of arbitrariness, for instance, are two characteristics of a government that are most important to the welfare and happiness of a people. They are as likely to be found — or more accurately, as little likely to be found — under any one form of government as another. Rampant interference with personal lives is the most obnoxious characteristic of any government, and that is found just as readily under elected officials as under hereditary monarchs. In fact, as the Greeks pointed out, as has been well known to careful students of history ever since, and as the founding fathers of our own republic were well aware, when an elected government succeeds in attracting and maintaining an overwhelming majority behind it for any length of time, its mob instincts make it the most tyrannical of all forms of social organization.

10.

Which brings us to the last, the most overlooked, and in my opinion the most important, of these basic generalizations concerning government. Thomas Jefferson expressed part of it in his famous dictum that that government is best which governs least. But Jefferson was thinking of the extent of a government's power more than of the extensiveness of the government itself. And our tenth point is that neither the form of government nor its quality is as important as its quantity. A thoroughly foul government, like that of Nero, which still did not reach its tentacles

quantity of government which, more than anything else, makes these tremendously destructive wars not only possible, but unavoidable. One illustration should make this statement too clear for argument. Do you want to fight the Russian people? Do you think the Russian people have the least desire to fight us? Do you think there would be the slightest chance of the American people and the Russian people fighting each other, with millions to be killed on both sides and great parts of both countries probably to be utterly destroyed, if there were only one-tenth as much government in each country as now exists? Stop and think about it for a minute. It is not only that governments carry their peoples into horrible and utterly unnecessary wars, but it takes a very huge quantity of government to carry its people into the totalitarian struggle which war has now been made by this same quantity of government. Reduce all the governments of all the nations of the world to one-third of their present size — not one-third of their power, note, nor are we referring to their quality, but just to one-third of their bureaucratic numbers, their extensiveness, their meddling in the lives of their subjects — and you would immediately accomplish two things. You would reduce the likelihood of war between hostile nations to at most one-ninth of its present probability, and the destructiveness of any wars that did take place in the same proportion.

The greatest enemy of man is, and always has been, government. And the larger, the more extensive that government, the greater the enemy.

"War on Drugs"

Cont. from page 1

culture, and that no program of legislation and law enforcement even vaguely compatible with strict enforcement of the Constitution's pro-individual rights provisions, and the very libertarian American tradition, can ever conceivably eradicate it.

But whereas the *Consumer Reports* people recommended that the government should quit beating everyone's head against the wall upon making this observation, the existing executive branch says "Give us the tanks, the tracking satellites, the bazookas, the machine guns, the troop movements without consideration of private property rights, etc. of the military,

Continued on page 7

Pro-Draft Forces Launch New Offensive

by Mark David Travis

In a recent widely-reported proposal drafted by the Reserve Forces Policy Board, a Pentagon advisory panel, Chairman Louis Conti decried the decline in reserve strength of American armed forces and advocated the reinstatement of conscription. Exploiting resurgent jingoist sentiment and Cold War hysteria, Conti presented Congress with the standard right-wing criticisms of the voluntary army, adding that military service is a citizen's moral obligation.

The debate over conscription raises critical questions about the direction of United States defense policy and the strategic balance of power. Unfortunately, Conti failed to capitalize on this opportunity to make a worthwhile contribution to the discussion. Instead, he offered a plethora of well known and discredited allegations regarding the perceived unfairness of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) and its inability to defend our country.

Conti's first observation was that the AVF does not meet the nation's present security requirements. While this is perhaps the most serious criticism of the volunteer army, no evidence whatsoever was furnished to justify this claim.

What Conti *did* present were doubts and suspicions concerning the capability of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces to defend Western Europe in the event of a Soviet-Warsaw Pact invasion. He noted that "there is no longer any time, once a European war has begun, to draft, train or send men to fight, which leaves several options: either a return to the draft or some kind of national service obligation or a change of incentives to attract recruits." The last option was rejected in view of the length of time needed to eliminate the "severe shortage of soldiers in the reserve."

Conti is realistic in his assessment of U.S. manpower levels as inadequate to insure a swift and decisive response to a sudden Pact attack. He is dishonest,

however, when charging that those levels are insufficient to satisfy the legitimate defense needs of the continental United States.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the demands of America's global troop commitments have become so vast that they can no longer be secured through voluntary action alone. While perfectly adequate to counter any direct invasionary threat to the U.S., the AVF is not suited to quick mobilizations for foreign wars, and was never designed to support the troop levels essential for preserving global supremacy and dreams of empire.

After courting the Right by demanding a more aggressive and interventionist national posture, Conti proceeded to woo the Left with an appeal for a more ethnically balanced AVF. Citing statistics, he noted that Blacks and Hispanics serve in the volunteer army in numbers exceeding their ratios in the national population. This observation led Conti to identify minority soldiers as "mercenaries for the middle class."

The racial argument is a Pentagon favorite since it plays to both liberals and conservatives. To liberals who might otherwise support the AVF the question is put: "Do you want to see just Blacks and minorities dying in case of war?" To conservatives the allusion is made to the spectre of a predominantly non-Caucasian army dispatched to some Third World nation to kill people of similar ethnic stock.

The widely held belief that the volunteer army imposes an undue burden on minorities is spurious. It was during the *draft* that Blacks, the poor and the uneducated were victims of systematic discrimination, a problem attributable to the inequities of Selective Service. It was during the *draft* that they were paid slave wages far less than what they could have earned as civilians. It was during the *draft* that soldiers had no chance to choose the best

of competing alternatives and were forced to serve — no matter how unremunerative, dangerous or incompatible with personal conviction that service might be.

If Blacks are overrepresented in the enlisted force it is because they are now paid a competitive wage and find that the benefits of military service exceed the opportunity costs of public sector employment. If this leads to a racially "unrepresentative" force, then the blame rests with the civilian sector, not with the AVF. The large number of Blacks in uniform represents progress on the part of the military, not the contrary.

The late Rep. William Steiger (D-Wisc.) remarked that the racial issue "should be turned around to ask why society as a whole doesn't follow the Army's example in providing equal opportunity and a fairer chance of advancement." This sentiment is shared by former Secretary of the Army, Clifford Alexander, and leaders of the Congressional Black Caucus, who have not hesitated to criticize the paternalism of those who "would deny Blacks the opportunity to enlist in the Armed Forces." (The Black Caucus, in fact, has gone on record opposing both registration and the draft, and has made a special point of contradicting the racial argument.)

Conti's allegations concerning inequities in the socioeconomic composition of the AVF may also be dismissed. According to *Military Manpower and the All-Volunteer Force* (Richard Cooper, Rand Corporation, 1978), "The AVF is at least as representative of the total population as was its draft-era counterpart. In terms of both geography and income, today's enlisted recruit population faithfully mirrors the general population from which it is drawn."

The report found the distribution of enlistments by geographical area and family income to be virtually identical to the distribution of the sixteen to twenty-one-year-old male population. That is, neither the poor nor people from any specific geographic area are overrepresented. The highest income brackets are underrepresented, although this has been the case both in peacetime and in war.

In conclusion, Conti speculated on civic responsibility, positing that "military service in a democracy is the obligation of a citizen." This is his weakest defense since

Americans may someday favor conscription, but even that would not alter its moral character.

As long as the state has recourse to a draft, militarists like Conti will clamor for its return. They will not hesitate to express alarm at a 2% shortfall in recruitment and intimate that it jeopardizes the existence of Western civilization. They will not hesitate to appeal to any segment of society or to any ideological faction in their unrelenting drive to engineer the reactivation of Selective Service.

For AVF detractors there will always be too many soldiers who are Black, Hispanic, poor, uneducated, Southern, over thirty, married, unpatriotic, inexperienced, gay, drug addicted, career oriented and psychologically maladjusted. The generals and their flunkies in Congress and the media will never tire of defining some "representative" group they think should serve, and then bitch if that group is not serving.

Most complaints about the volunteer military, then, do not hold up under close scrutiny. That is not to say that potentially serious problems do not exist. They do, but they reflect inefficient decision-making procedures and the absence of market incentives, which inevitably give rise to resource maldistribution. A draft would only exacerbate these problems, increasing inefficiency and manpower underutilization.

Rep. Steiger, a longtime supporter of the AVF, delivered the following testimony before the House Armed Services Committee: "As long as we can fall back on the simple solution of returning to forced service through conscription, the feeling is, why go through the bother of trying to make our military manpower policies work? It strikes me that those who deprecate today's force and who look longingly to the alternative of the draft lack perspective.

"There is a tendency to forget that our Armed Forces have traditionally been made up of volunteers. We have had conscription in only thirty of our 200-plus years as a nation. And there is a tendency to forget the reports of low morale, bad pay, bad living conditions, packed stockades and high AWOL and desertion rates that plagued our draft Army.

"Difficulties remain: attrition, improving the recruiting process and pro-

insure a swift and decisive response to a sudden Pact attack. He is dishonest,

civilians. It was during the *draft* that soldiers had no chance to choose the best

INVEST IN GOLD & SILVER A GOOD IDEA



INVEST IN RARE FOREIGN COINS

A BETTER IDEA!

call us to find out why
Rare Beautiful Historical
A Piece of History
A Work of Art
An Outstanding Investment

William M. Rosenblum / numismatist
box 355 evergreen, colorado 80439

303-674-3614

war. In conclusion, Conti speculated on civic responsibility, positing that "military service in a democracy is the obligation of a citizen." This is his weakest defense since he is no philosopher, and in the absence of convincing teleological argumentation, such an "obligation" is nothing more than a subjective moral claim. The majority of

pay, bad living conditions, packed stockades and high AWOL and desertion rates that plagued our draft Army.

"Difficulties remain: attrition, improving the recruiting process and providing adequate medical care. None of these challenges is insuperable. Each requires specific attention to manpower management. None requires a draft."

Keynote Panel *Cont. from page 2*

Likely topics of discussion include the following:

Ideology & Issues. What issues should we be stressing and how should they be presented? Should we be radicals, questioning the fundamental legitimacy of State Power — or reformers, who seek to make changes in the present system without raising questions as to its basic legitimacy? To what extent should our proposals and campaign rhetoric be tailored to achieve media coverage?

Strategy & Tactics. How should we be allocating our relatively scarce resources? Should we be running as many candidates as possible, or concentrating on races where we can win or have a major impact? How important is 50-state ballot status? Is

the LP really a national party, or is it in fact a regional party, likely to make significant inroads only in the West?

Internal Organization. Is the party's national structure too centralized? Not centralized enough? Is the National Committee too large? Too small? Superfluous entirely? Should future presidential campaigns be more accountable to the National Committee? If so, how should the accountability be enforced?

All of these are questions that the party must resolve, starting at LP/10 and continuing throughout the years ahead. And while the Keynote Panel is not likely to reach any final, universally-accepted conclusions, hopefully it will start the convention delegates thinking about the issues they must face.

Mystery Essay Contest Entry Form

Defining the term broadly, to what extent would you describe the ideas expressed in our Mystery Essay as being libertarian?

- ☐ Entirely
☐ Very Much
☐ Mostly

- ☐ Somewhat
☐ Very Little
☐ Not At All

Who do you think wrote this essay?

When do you think it was written?

Would you like to see us run further contests of this type in *Colorado Liberty*?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Care

Your Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Please enter a one-year subscription to *Colorado Liberty* in my name. Enclosed is \$6 for six issues.

Mail completed form to: *Colorado Liberty*, 1041 Cherokee Street, Denver, CO 80204. Contest entry deadline is September 15, 1981.

1981 Platform

Colorado Libertarian Party

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

We, the members of the Libertarian Party, challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.

We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose.

Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent.

We, on the contrary, deny the right of any government to do these things, and hold that where governments exist, they must not violate the rights of any individual: namely, (1) the right to life — accordingly we support prohibition of the initiation of physical force against others; (2) the right to liberty of speech and action — accordingly we oppose all attempts by government to abridge the freedom of speech and press, as well as government censorship in any form; and (3) the right to property — accordingly we oppose all government interference with private property, such as confiscation, nationalization, and eminent domain, and support the prohibition of robbery, trespass, fraud, and misrepresentation.

Since governments, when instituted, must not violate individual rights, we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals. People should not be forced to sacrifice their lives and property for the benefit of others. They should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market.

Taxes

All taxation is a flagrant violation of the fundamental right of individuals to keep the fruits of their labor. We therefore oppose all forcible collection of money or goods by government, and call for the disbanding of all enforcement agencies associated with tax

modities, except where individual water rights presently are being exercised.

Public utility monopolies in the area of water storage, distribution and use must also be abolished and water as a resource returned to its proper place as a privately owned commodity in a free market.

We call for the termination of the monopoly held by the Denver Water Board and similar local government agencies elsewhere in Colorado.

Since government uses tax money to finance water projects, we urge termination of such subsidized engineering jobs in Colorado as federally funded water projects, mine drainage abatement and the Foothills Water Treatment Facility.

In addition we oppose the exercise of federal reserve rights and interstate compacts to the detriment of any Colorado water right. To the extent that downstream water users claim the right to Colorado water, disputes should be settled through stipulation, arbitration, or litigation.

We oppose manipulation of the environment by the State, and call for an immediate end to taxpayer-financed weather modification experiments and programs.

Equal Rights

We deny the right of government to discriminate on the basis of sex, race, color, creed, age, national origin, disabilities, sexual or political preference. Nonetheless, we oppose legislative or judicial attempts to regulate discrimination in private relations and transactions.

We particularly deplore the oppression of handicapped persons by government through token social programs, the government-medical complex, mandated architectural changes or any laws which institutionalize discrimination. Individual and voluntary cooperative efforts are the only ways to solve the problems of the disabled and simultaneously preserve their dignity.

Abortion

We do not believe the State has any right to interfere with a woman's personal choice regarding termination or continuance of a pregnancy. However, we are opposed to taxpayer financing either for abortion or for support of the child.

Undocumented Aliens

We condemn any and all round-ups of individuals not possessing required government documents as restrictions on the fundamental freedom to work and move about unmolested.

State support of national policies restricting immigration, such as attempts to keep Cubans and Asians out of Colorado, should be withdrawn.

However, we oppose tax-financed welfare and transfer payments to aliens, just as we oppose them in general.

The Right to Privacy

We support the full and complete protection of each individual's right to privacy from invasion either by government or individuals. The government should not use electronic or any other means of surveillance in order to monitor the actions of any individual without the consent of that individual.

Election Laws

So that voters may express dissatisfaction with the political system, "None of the Above" should appear as a choice in every election. If "None of the Above" wins a plurality, the office for that term would remain unfilled and unfunded.

We favor greatly increased access to the ballot for initiated issues, referenda, political parties and independent candidates. We oppose all attempts to limit access to the general election ballot for independent candidates or candidates of small political parties. We further oppose the current merging of the business of the Democratic and Republican parties into the area of governmental action, and call for an end of the "open primary" system, under which parties recognized by the State are required to accept any and all voters into their ranks in return for the State's running of their candidate selection processes.

We oppose any attempt to restrict the voluntary financing of campaigns or the range of choices available to voters in a general election.

Public Services

We believe that the marketplace provides the best measure of demand for services. Accordingly, we favor private rather than govern-

Energy

We advocate a free market in energy production and consumption. We demand that all government interference within the energy market be eliminated, as such interference is the primary cause of the so-called energy crisis. Only through a free market in energy can we encourage a rational use of resources, conservation through the pricing system and development of alternative energy sources.

Therefore, we favor decontrol of prices, and deregulation of allocation, distribution and production. We advocate the abolition of all government attempts to develop or restrict (by eminent domain, subsidies, or otherwise) energy production or consumption.

Specifically, we call for an immediate end to government financed oil shale and synfuels projects, and the Solar Energy Research Institute. We also demand the removal of all roadblocks to energy development, such as the mineral severance taxes, and we demand the transfer of all government held mineral rights and lands to private hands.

Mass Transit

Governmental attempts to provide mass transit interfere with voluntary exchange and are costly and grossly inefficient. A free market in transportation will provide options allowing better, more responsive service at reasonable rates. Therefore, we favor unregulated competitive transportation alternatives. Specifically, we recommend transfer to the private sector of all equipment held by the Regional Transportation District.

Environment

The present system of regulation fails to prevent the deterioration of our environment, wastes tax dollars, and arbitrarily limits individual rights. Regulations are misleading, since they permit the government to establish arbitrary "tolerable" levels of pollution.

We advocate the development of an objective system to establish individual property rights to air, water and other natural resources. Present legal principles which provide for the preservation of individual rights through the institution of civil actions should be expanded so that the principles of trespass, nuisance and negligence fully protect individual rights regarding damage done to air or water, or by

individuals to keep the fruits of their labor. We therefore oppose all forcible collection of money or goods by government, and call for the disbanding of all enforcement agencies associated with tax collection.

As an interim measure, we support mandatory tax reductions.

Government Spending

We advocate massive and immediate reductions in spending at all levels of government, enforced by strict budget limitations. An economy unfettered and undrained by government will provide ample opportunity for all.

Subsidies to special interests forcibly take resources from those who have earned them to reward those favored by government. Therefore, we favor ending all types of government subsidies.

Public funds should not be used to support or oppose any particular party, candidate, or issue.

Government Licensing and Regulation

We advocate repeal of all laws creating and protecting government-sanctioned monopolies, and demand an end to all licensing requirements and regulatory activities because they interfere with the individual's right to enter into voluntary contractual arrangements.

In Colorado, this includes abolishing the Public Utilities Commission, eliminating the monopoly status of Mountain Bell and the Public Service Company, and allowing unregulated access to local broadcasting by cable, satellite and pay television companies.

We also advocate elimination of the 55 mph speed limit, all vehicular inspection requirements and licensing, and licensing of drivers. We believe that public safety can be more effectively assured through a strict application of liability laws.

Individuals in Government

Government officials and employees should be held personally responsible for their activities that violate rights of individuals.

We favor voluntary means of financial support, instead of tax-financed salaries, for candidates elected to public office and oppose all laws restricting such voluntary financing.

Water

We favor the recognition of private rights to ownership of water. Any residual claims of the State to water or its use should be returned to private ownership.

As an interim measure we advocate water user fees for all Colorado residents so that water becomes subject to the same supply and demand factors as other resources and com-

modities. We believe that the marketplace provides the best measure of demand for services. Accordingly, we favor private, rather than governmental, ownership and operation of so-called public services; such as water and sewer services, transportation, fire protection, trash collection and health care facilities. As an interim measure, a system of user fees should be established to more rationally relate the use of services to their costs.

Gun Control

We uphold the individual's right to self-defense and, therefore, the right to keep and bear arms. Thus, we oppose all laws at any level of government restricting the ownership, possession, manufacture or transfer of arms and ammunition. We also oppose all laws requiring their registration.

Criminal Justice

We call for the repeal of all victimless "crime" laws, since they are no more than one group's imposition of its moral standards upon the voluntary actions of individuals. Furthermore, we believe that such repeal, and pardoning of those convicted, would immediately alleviate over-crowded conditions found in jails and prisons and would allow better protection of citizens and property from violent crimes.

In particular, we condemn continuing Colorado legislative attempts to control or eliminate obscenity, pornography, massage parlors, escort services and use of any chemical substance and drug paraphernalia.

The criminal justice system should be restructured to emphasize restitution to victims at the expense of the convicted offenders. The present system of "criminal justice" does not provide true justice because crimes not currently defined as unjustified acts against the lives, property and rights of specific individuals.

Police Powers

We favor drastic reductions in the discretion currently accorded to police officials to take violent action against others on whim and with impunity. In particular, the virtually complete immunity from criminal prosecution for acts such as theft, breaking and entering, false arrest (kidnapping), strip searches and the like which police officers enjoy must be changed.

Unions and Collective Bargaining

We support the individual's unrestricted right to free contract and voluntary association — including participation or non-participation in a labor union — and oppose the use of government as a tool or weapon in labor relations.

Free Market Zones

As a transition step toward establishing a universal free market, we favor the establishment of free market zones, i.e., areas in which all federal, state, and local regulations, taxes, services and subsidies would be permanently eliminated. We support the right of individuals in any geographic area to establish free market zones.

We believe that the marketplace provides the best measure of demand for services. Accordingly, we favor private, rather than governmental, ownership and operation of so-called public services; such as water and sewer services, transportation, fire protection, trash collection and health care facilities. As an interim measure, a system of user fees should be established to more rationally relate the use of services to their costs.

Education

We advocate total separation of education and the state. Government schools interfere with the free choice of individuals and severely limit educational alternatives and progress. The proper solution to our educational ills is a free market in education so that individuals can choose the manner (and the language) in which they will be educated.

As interim measures, we support tax credits for tuition and other educational expenses, with no restrictions placed on the manner of their use, and repeal of taxes levied against private schools.

We call for elimination within the state education system of forced busing, forcible administration of drugs, corporal punishment and compulsory education laws. Requirements of a state license or other certification to offer educational services must also be ended.

institution of civil actions should be expanded so that the principles of trespass, nuisance and negligence fully protect individual rights regarding damage done to air or water, or by noise, chemical or radiation pollution.

This would create incentives for development of less polluting, and therefore less costly, technologies. Holding polluters fully responsible for their actions would also promote much more careful handling of problems important to Colorado such as oil shale development, surface mining and toxic waste disposal.

Public Lands and Land Use

Land use planning is properly the responsibility and right of the owners of the land. We oppose government ownership of land, and laws that restrict the right of private property owners to use, dispose of and covenant with regard to their property as they see fit. We advocate private operation of parks and preservation of wilderness through privately owned conservancies.

With respect to private property, we urge an end to government control of land use through such devices as zoning laws, building codes, eminent domain, regional planning and urban renewal. We insist that real costs of new development be borne by the developer or the purchasers, rather than by all taxpayers within that municipality.

Hallmarks of a Free Society

To the extent that the following conditions are approached in a society, the people of that society are free. To the extent that these conditions are absent, the people are oppressed.

No Conscription.

No Taxation.

No Censorship.

No Spying.

No Restraint of Trade.

No Registration
of Citizens.

No Travel Restrictions.

No Laws Against
Victimless Acts.

A Hard Currency.

Citizens Have the Right
to Keep and Bear Arms.

David F. Nolan

The Selective Service and You

From the Official Selective Service Publication:

What is the Selective Service System?

It's a government agency which will provide people for the Armed Forces in the event of a national emergency. Since the start of the All Volunteer Force in 1973, it has been in a "standby" position. However, Selective Service must be ready to respond immediately in time of need. The purpose of registration is to improve this ability.

How Will You Register?

If you are required to register, go to the nearest United States Post Office, pick up a form, fill it in, and hand it to a postal clerk who will check your form with an identification, such as your driver's license. The postal clerk will not give you a receipt. However, you will later receive a verification letter from the Selective Service.

Please note that postal clerks are not familiar with the details of the Selective Service System. They can only help you in filling out the Registration Form. If you have questions that this pamphlet doesn't answer, write to the Selective Service System, 600 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20435.

After You Have Registered, What Happens?

The information you have given us will be put into our files. You will be sent a copy of that information to be sure it is correct. If the information about you is wrong, please change it on the form supplied to you and mail it back to us. You will not be issued a registration card, but you should keep your verification letter as proof of your registration. If you do not receive a verification letter within 90 days, you should write Selective Service at 600 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20435.

What If You Move?

The law requires you to let us know if you move. Simply mail us your new address on a Change of Information form which you can get at your nearest Post Office, U.S. Embassy or Consular Office.

Will There Be A Draft?

There are no plans at this time for a draft. No one has been drafted in the U.S. since 1972. A draft could not begin unless the Congress decides that it is needed. The purpose of registration is to have the names and addresses of those who might be called in the event a draft should become necessary, as in a national emergency. With this file of names and addresses, processing could begin quickly and smoothly.

Who Would Be Selected For Induction?

If you are not already a member of an armed service - active, reserve or National Guard - you could be selected through a lottery based upon the date of your birth. People selected for induction would be sent a letter of instructions which would explain their rights and responsibilities.

If A Draft Begins, What Are Your Rights?

The law says you should report for examination and induction if you are ordered to do so.

You may request a postponement, deferment or exemption. For example:

If you are a student in college, you may finish the semester; if a senior, you may finish the year.

If you are a high school student, you may stay in school until you graduate (up to age 20).

If your induction would create a hardship to your dependents, you may ask for a deferment.

And What it Really Means:

What is the Selective Service System?

It is a government agency that provides slaves to be sent overseas to die in foreign wars. Without this system, the kids couldn't be rounded up nearly fast enough.

How Will You Register?

Turn yourself in at the nearest Post Office. Don't ask the postal clerk for help or you'll just have to return later to do it right.

After You Have Registered, What Happens?

Sooner or later, we'll come and get you. By the way, don't think that the "no receipt" business means you can get away with claiming the Post Office lost your registration form.

What If You Move?

We'll find you.

Will There Be A Draft?

This isn't registration for the Irish Sweepstakes, you know.

Who Would Be Selected For Induction?

People who register.

If A Draft Begins, What Are Your Rights?

Rights? Surely you jest. If you beg and snivel a lot, **maybe** we'll let you off, but you really don't have any rights.

You may request a postponement, deferment or exemption. For example:
If you are a student in college, you may finish the semester; if a senior, you may finish the year.

If you are a high school student, you may stay in school until you graduate (up to age 20).

If your induction would create a hardship to your dependents, you may ask for a deferment.

If you are a student studying for the ministry, you may request a deferment.

If you are a minister of religion, you may request an exemption.

If you have deeply-held religious, moral, or ethical beliefs against participation in war in any form, you could request status as a conscientious objector. If found to be a conscientious objector and depending upon your specific beliefs, you will be required to serve either in a non-combatant position in the Armed Forces or in a civilian public service job (for example, in a hospital).

How Do You File A Claim?

Instructions on how to file a claim will be included with letters of induction. You would fill out the form for postponement or reclassification and send it to Selective Service.

What Happens When You File A Claim?

You will be given the chance to present information to support your claim to a local draft board. You can be assisted in this by counselors, family members, clergy, and any other person you may want.

You could not be drafted until you are offered all of your appeal rights under the law.

Who Makes These Decisions?

Your claim would be considered by local draft board members. These people will be from your community.

Who Would Be Most Likely To Be Called In The Event Of A Draft?

Those who reach their 20th birthday in the calendar year of the draft will be the first group to be called. Others would be called as necessary.

How Do You File A Claim?

When it's too late for your claim to do you any good, we'll let you know.

What Happens When You File A Claim?

Claim? What claim? Do you have a receipt?

Who Makes These Decisions?

A distinguished panel consisting of Attila the Hun, Curtis LeMay, Darth Vader, and several bemedaled members of the VFW.

Who Would Be Most Likely To Be Called In The Event Of A Draft?

Not *me*. I've got a cushy \$38,000-a-year job with the Pentagon writing these brochures. Besides, my father is a defense contractor. So guess who that leaves!

"War on Drugs"

Cont. from page 4

so we can enforce prohibition in a way that *isn't* compatible with full respect for constitutionally-mentioned individual rights".

By the time you read this, it may or may not still be possible to influence your Congressperson and Senators before the full houses vote on the proposal. It *may* not even be possible as this is written; large, very Establishment forces are pushing this. Unless the Congress defeats this proposal, however, it will become law; can anyone seriously think that Reagan won't sign it? And the inevitable result of that is that someday soon, some people — maybe including you — will have to choose between immediate military capture — by "your own" government — or immediate deadly combat with the military forces that the Reagan administration is using your money to arm more heavily.

Population Shift

Cont. from page 1

into the coffin of the myth that the Republican Party has resisted any of the policies responsible for the migration from the North and East.)

What the population shift *will* do in the short run is make politics at the state and local level more volatile and less predictable, with new voters who have no particularly strong party allegiance often determining the outcome of elections. Important municipal, county, and even statewide offices in western and some southern states are often nonpartisan, in contrast to northern and eastern elections in which every candidate from governor to dogcatcher is part of a formal party ticket. New immigrant voters will therefore have even less reason to form party allegiances (most new immigrants these days are coming into Western states from Asia and Latin America), and elected officials, in

turn, will owe less and less to formal party structures. When these officials move up to higher, partisan offices, their choice of party will often be more a matter of convenience than of ideology — unless and until American political parties are reconstituted along ideological lines.

This same phenomenon heightens the electoral prospects for Libertarians — or, at the very least, it does nothing to diminish them. Already, a handful of nonpartisan office holders in two high-growth western states — Alaska and California — are in fact formally affiliated in some way with the Libertarian Party. Hypothetically, some of these individuals could seek higher, partisan offices under the Libertarian banner and carry with them into the race several advantages which third party candidates typically never have, such as name recognition, a track record, a financial base of contributors, and political clout. Such situations, should they

materialize, could only enhance the prospects for the Libertarian Party to attain major party status.

By no means am I suggesting that Libertarian political activists should begin focusing their attention on nonpartisan races. On the contrary, they should work that much harder to build a strong, viable party structure which will induce ideologically compatible nonpartisan office holders to run as Libertarians when the time comes. What I do mean to suggest is that the population shift between 1970 and 1980 parallels and even exemplifies important national trends during the same time period. Libertarians would do well to be aware of these trends, and to take advantage of them.

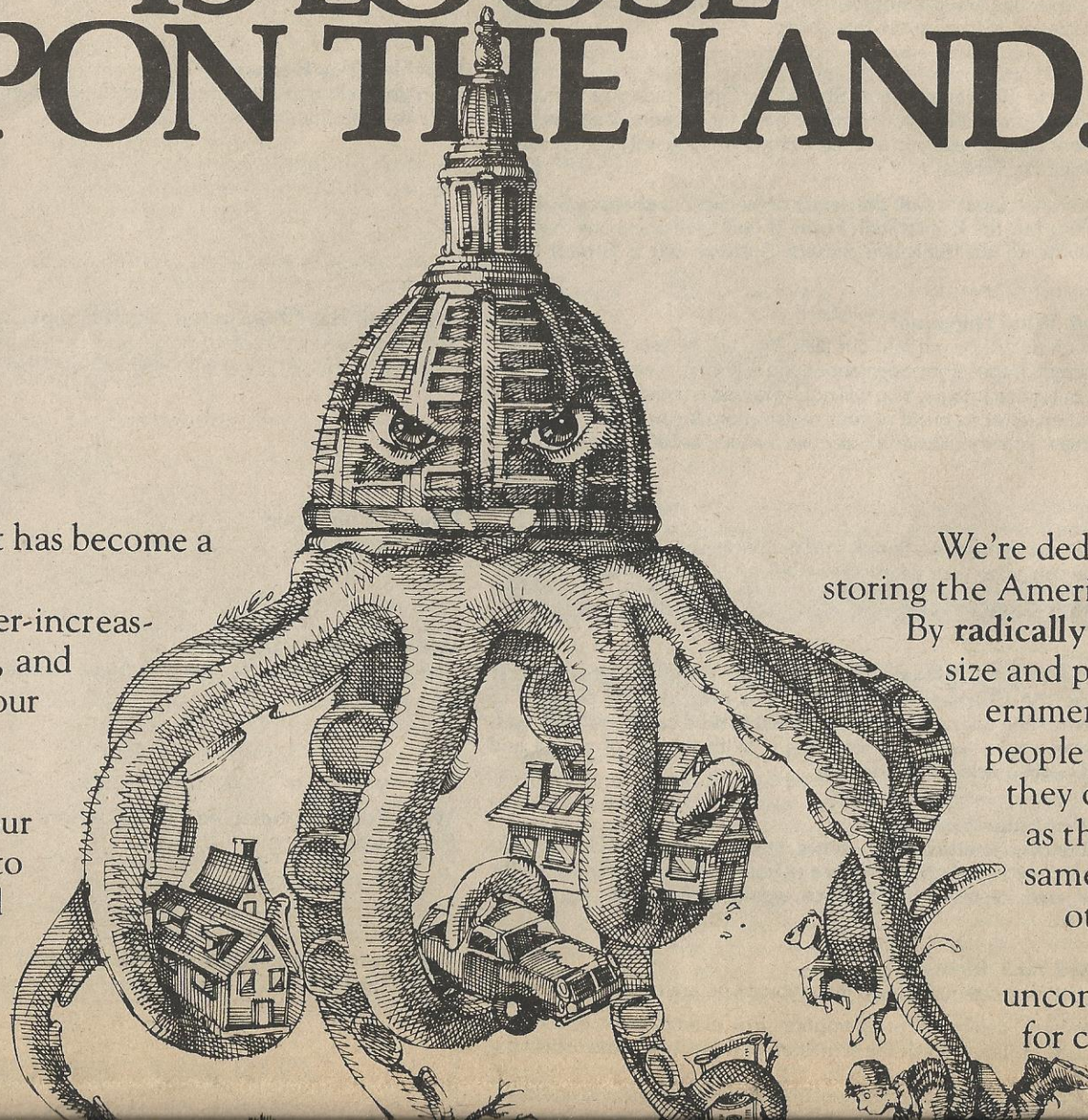
*Chris Hocker is the publisher of **Libertarian Review**. The foregoing article appeared in the March, 1981 issue of that publication and is reprinted by permission.*

A MONSTER IS LOOSE UPON THE LAND.

Our government has become a monster.

Its policies of ever-increasing taxation, regulation, and inflation have crippled our economy and given us ten-cent dollars.

Every aspect of our personal lives is subject to its constant scrutiny and intervention; the new Omnibus Crime Bill (S 1722), now pending in Congress, would make its police-state



We're dedicated to restoring the American Dream.

By radically reducing the size and power of government, and setting people free to live as they choose, so long as they respect the same right of others.

We stand uncompromisingly for civil liberties, a free-market economy.

(S 1722), now pending in Congress, would make its police-state powers all but complete.

Its constant interventions in the affairs of peoples around the world have earned us massive ill-will and magnified the risk of war. And now, once again, there is talk of conscripting young Americans to fight and die in foreign lands.

Responsibility for these conditions lies with the politicians — Republican and Democrat alike — who have controlled our destiny for too long.

But now, there's a new party.

The Libertarian Party.

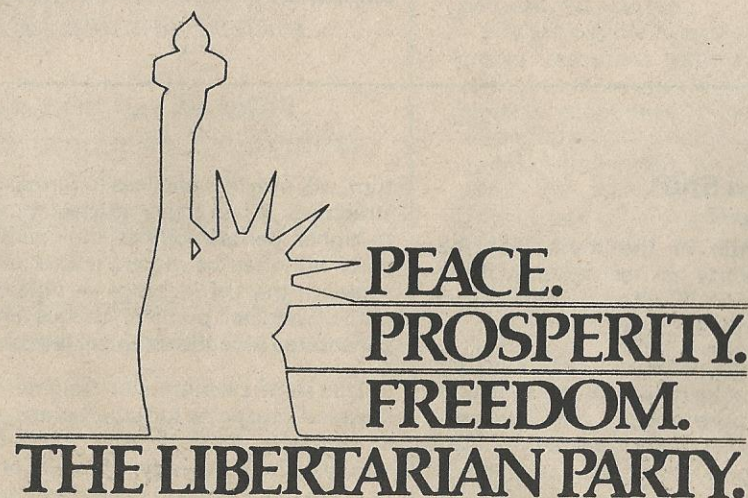


for civil liberties, a free-market economy, and a non-interventionist foreign policy.

And our opposition to conscription — for any purpose — is total.

If that sounds like what you've been looking for, we invite you to join the hundreds of candidates and thousands of individual members who are working to build a real alternative in American politics.

The Libertarian Party. 2300 Wisconsin Avenue, NW. Washington, DC 20007.



**A poster version of this ad is available for \$3
at the Colorado Libertarian Party booth.
\$5 by mail.**